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Polit. Pamph. vol. 111.

ANTICIPATION,

For MDCCLXXIX.

[Price ONE SHILLING and SIX-PENCE.]



ANTICIPATION:

(For the YEAR MDCCLXXIX.)

Containing the Substance of

HIS M———Y's

Most Gracious Speech

TO BOTH

H----S of P----L-----T,

ON THE

Opening of the approaching SESSION.

TOGETHER

With a full and authentic ACCOUNT of the
DEBATE which WILL take place in the
H——E of C——s on the Motion for the
ADDRESS, and the AMENDMENT.

With NOTES.

(First published Five Days before the Opening of the Session.)

“ ————nothing extenuate,
“ Nor set down aught in malice.” SHAKESPEAR.

THE SECOND EDITION.

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MDCCLXXIX.



PRELIMINARY

ADVERTISEMENT.

ONE of the reasons at least, that induced the Author of *Anticipation* to publish his pamphlet last year, has equally prevailed with the Author of the present piece;---the wish to get money.---Gentlemen who scribble for the press may profess what they will; but, in the genuine sense of the phrase, they “hunger and thirst,” if not “after righteousness,” at least for a dinner.---The shutting the galleries of the House of Commons was urged as a reason for last year’s publication, and it prevails, in its full force,

force, for that of the present. The custom is indisputably absurd; but when Members will shut their House against their constituents, as they do their ears against their complaints, it becomes the duty of a real friend to his Country to *anticipate* the injury, and *forestall the market*, that the *Employers* and the *best Customers* may be *properly served*.

Gentlemen of political curiosity, the most insatiate of all passions, will have reason to thank us for telling them what is to happen in the great council of the Nation, at least five days before it can have happened. Five days are an age in the Idea of a Politician!---This is a species of prophecy not to be despised, and many Members of the House will thank us for putting words into their mouths.

Many

ADVERTISEMENT. vii

Many a good speech would have been lost to the world but for this publication.

About three years ago complaint was made, by a Member, of the publication of speeches in the News-papers; but he was well answered by another. " Let us not complain; we are under " obligation; the Gentlemen who " write for the News-papers make " better speeches for us than we can " make for ourselves."

It may be wondered that Mr. Ald-n T--nf--d makes his appearance in this pamphlet; but let it be remembered that he is fond of opposing his old acquaintance the City Patriot, and that he will force himself in *any where* to do him a mischief.

The

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The Writer of these proceedings has nothing farther to say, but that he hopes the French and Spaniards will encourage the publication, by becoming large purchasers; of which he has the better hope, because the house of Bourbon has lately become the *avowed protector of Liberty*. They will have no difficulty in procuring as many copies as they please to order:---they will be safely conveyed in Dutch bottoms; and the Dutch are neutral to every thing but the getting money.

A N T I-

ANTICIPATION, &c.

Dom. Comm. Jovis, 25 Nov. die.

Anno 20^o Georgii III. Regis, 1779.

THE few introductory words to this piece, will, necessarily, be in substance the same as those prefixed to the ANTICIPATION of 1778, yet for form sake, it will be proper to state the little ceremonies that preceded the more important business of the day.

At half past two o'clock, the gentleman usher of the black rod was admitted into the H—e of C—ns, in consequence of three raps which he gave at the door. Having made three bows on his advance towards the table, he informed the S——r, that his Majesty commanded the attendance of the Commons

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in the H—e of Lords ; on which the accustomed crowd rushed forwards, eager to testify their loyalty where it was most justly due. We give the substance of the K—g's speech, in compliment to the worthy members of administration who framed it ; declining to publish the whole, not only as it might be deemed an affront to the august personage who delivered it, but as it would be a kind of literary cruelty to rob the ministers of those strokes of eloquence which are more peculiarly their own. —The Speech was to the following effect ; —it said, that

*“ The critical situation and uncommon emergency of public affairs, had induced his M—— to assemble his parliament at so early * a season of the year, that they might have the more time to deliberate on the weighty affairs that would call for their consideration.*

“ That though the valour of his fleets had hitherto been inadequate to the giving an effectual check to the insolence of the house of Bourbon, yet he did not doubt but that the period would soon ar-

* N. B. The P—— was not assembled earlier than usual.

rive, when that event, so much to be wished for, would be accomplished.

“ That though some of our West-India islands had been reduced, and others were threatened by the enemy, yet that he did not doubt, but that the former would be re-taken, and the latter effectually protected.

“ That though the American war had been protracted beyond the term that might have been reasonably expected, yet such steps had been now taken, and such vigorous efforts would be used, that there was little doubt but that another campaign would reduce the rebels to such a situation, that they would be glad to compromise the difference on such terms, as would be mutually advantageous to the mother country and her colonies.

“ That the attempts of the Spaniards against Gibraltar had been hitherto frustrated; that they could have little hope of success, from the natural and artificial strength of that fortress, and that they had not hitherto made, nor were likely to make, any attempt on the island of Minorca.

“ That he had received assurances of the assistance of his brother of Denmark, and had no doubt but that Russia and Prussia would lend their aid in support of the common cause, if it should be found necessary.

“ That our internal defence was greater than ever before known, all parties having united to strengthen the hands of government, so that public credit had not suffered even at an apparent time of public danger,

“ Nevertheless, that he was as much as ever disposed to put an end to the calamities of war, whenever such a desirable event could be obtained in a manner consistent with the honour of his crown, and the just rights of his subjects, which it should be his care to preserve inviolate.

*“ That the proper officers should immediately lay before his faithful Commons the proper estimates of the expences of the ensuing year *; that he was greatly concerned that any additional burdens on the subject would be necessary; but that his faithful Commons might be assured, that his æco-*

** This part of the Speech is always faithfully complied with.*

mony should be conducted on the most rigid plan, and a proper application made of the money which might be voted; wherefore he had no doubt, but that they would make the necessary provisions for continuing the war, as the most probable means of securing a lasting and honourable peace.

“ The Speech ended with a full reliance on the wisdom and unanimity of Parliament; and a pre-sage of what happy effects might be expected from the known abilities and conduct of his Admirals and Generals; the valour of his fleets and armies, and the fidelity and loyalty of his subjects in general.”

The C——ns having returned from the house of L——ds, the speech was read from the chair, in consequence of which a junior member moved for an address, and this was seconded by another of about equal standing in the house. This address, as usual, was designed to echoe the speech, sentence by sentence, and to express the unanimity of the house at a juncture so critical, and its resolution to support the measures of government. It is unnecessary to paint the affected hesitation, the idle apologies, and pretended em-
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barrassments, with which these speeches were delivered; nor is it necessary to say how much the public security, either in fact or in reality, was extolled.—The spirit of the malecontents in America was daily declining—General Clinton had obtained great and singular advantages—Our Fleet rode triumphant in the Channel, and our seamen were in health and spirits; while the Fleet of the enemy sought shelter in harbour, and the men were dying by thousands:—the people were satisfied, and a spirit of contentment reigned through the kingdom; while nothing was wanting to give vigour to our efforts, but unanimity in the great council of the Kingdom.—We now proceed to give a sketch of the debates which followed, on the proposed amendment to the address.

Lord J. C—v—d—sh. Sir, the Business of this first day of the session is generally deemed of the utmost consequence, and as such it ought to be treated. I wish my abilities were equal to the arduous task I have taken in hand, of endeavouring to awake this house to a sense of its own importance, that it might assert its constitutional right of controuling Ministers,

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nisters, by whom, generally speaking, we ourselves are controuled. Ministers, Sir, are as much accountable to this house as any one of its Members is to his Constituents; and it is our duty to take care that they do not longer deceive and impose on the people, by blinding the eyes of the Sov——n. In former periods, however loudly we may exclaim against the corruption of those times, no Minister dared to have gone those lengths which later Ministers have done: no, Sir, his head must have paid the forfeit of his misdeeds; for there was then a spirit, a vigour in this house, which I trust is not yet altogether lost; I trust that some of that Patriotic blood which flowed in the veins of our Ancestors, yet remains to warm and to animate their posterity. I could wish that some other Gentleman had undertaken the task that falls to my lot this day; but it is necessary that something should be done to rouse the sleeping genius of this Country, and to unbind the eyes of one of the worthiest, but the most deceived, of mankind: and for these reasons I move that no part of the intended address to the throne should be retained, but that which expresses our respect for his Majesty,

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jesty, immediately after which I propose that the following words should be substituted :

“ Your faithful C—mm—ns, assured of your M——y’s warmest wishes for the welfare of all your people, and your zealous endeavours to promote the true honour and dignity of your Crown, sincerely condole with you on that unhappy series of inattention, blunder, and mismanagement, which forebodes all kinds of evil to the former, and bids fair to tarnish the splendor of the latter. We have melancholy experience that the most liberal grants that ever a confiding P——t gave to a beloved S——n have failed, in almost every instance, to produce the salutary effects for which they were given: Armies have been raised, and Fleets equipped in vain: this Country is yet the derision of its enemies, and the scorn of those to whom it has been accustomed to give Law; so that there can scarcely remain a doubt but that there has been great mismanagement in the distribution of the public money, or that such orders have been given to our Commanders by Sea and Land, as have rendered their personal bravery, and professional skill equally ineffectual.

“ Wherefore

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“ Wherefore your M——y’s most faithful C—mm—ns, in real anxiety for your M——y’s and the public welfare, humbly entreat your M——y to order the proper Officers to lay before the House a faithful account of the expenditure of the public money for two years past, particularly so much of it as hath been issued for the payment of our Fleets and Armies; and likewise that you will be pleased to order copies of the orders that have from time to time been given to our Commanders by Sea and Land, within the term abovementioned, that your faithful C—mm—ns may be enabled to form a proper judgment how the public money has been applied: and we promise your M——y every assistance in our power in this important crisis of public affairs, and that we will exert ourselves to support and maintain the true honour and dignity of your Crown and Kingdoms.”

Having offered this amendment, Sir, to the consideration, and I hope to the concurrence, of the house, I trust it will not be necessary to expatiate on the good effects it must have, if the requisition should be complied with. Parliament will be well informed, the truth will be known, and we can either grant liberally,

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or with-hold our grants, as we may be enabled to judge, whether the public money will or will not be entrusted in hands that are worthy to have the disposal of it. If we find that turpitude and venality which is too much to be feared, we can humbly solicit the Throne for a removal of those M——rs, to whom we *know* that this country is indebted for the principal share of those calamities in which she is involved.

This motion was seconded by Sir *W—m M—r—dth*, who said its importance was so self-evident, that he hoped, what indeed he could not expect, that it would pass without opposition.

Mr. *R—gby* objected to the whole of the amendment, but particularly that part of it which hinted at mismanagement of the public money. I do not often trouble you, Mr. Speaker, nor will I be tedious now; but I am clearly of opinion, that no part of the public money is improperly applied, and I am sure that a great proportion of it is laid out in the most proper manner. The distribution of the money granted by parliament always has
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been, and always ought to be, in the power of the ministry :—they are the best judges how it ought to be disposed of, and modern times, I believe, has not produced one instance of its misapplication ; but certain sums must be laid out for certain purposes, which it is not proper the world should know ; and acquainting this house with its disposal, would be the same thing as telling it to the whole world ; since whatever passes here, is sure to get abroad by means of the public prints ; not without great suspicion, that certain honourable Gentlemen not only publish their own speeches, but those of others, as completely as their memory can contain them ; and these publications must be highly prejudicial, as they acquaint our enemies with our proceedings almost as soon as we know them ourselves. I have a Gentleman in my eye, whose speeches being always printed verbatim, and generally within eighteen hours after they are delivered, no doubt can remain but that they are sent to the printer *before* they are spoken.

This called up Mr. *W--k--s* ; but the House inclining to hear Mr. *R--gby* to an end, the

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former Gentleman resumed his seat, and then the latter proceeded as follows.—In general cases, I am no enemy to the liberty of the press; but in this particular instance, it is more pernicious than its licentiousness. With regard to what I have said of money-matters, all the world must know that it affects not myself; give me a bottle, a boon companion, and a joke, and I am the happiest fellow in his Majesty's dominions. For the reasons I have given, I dissent from the motion for the amendment, as totally improper, and calculated to clog the wheels of government, and render ineffectual our endeavours for the public service.

Mr. *W--lk--s* now rising, the House was tolerably attentive, in expectation of a specimen of that wit of which he possesses no inconsiderable share. He wondered why the honourable Gentleman who spoke last, should object to the amendment, and in particular to that part of it which hinted at an improper disposal of the public money, if he himself was totally innocent. It is not very common for those to decline a scrutiny, who have no reason to dread the event of it. I would not
with,

wish, Sir, any more than the honourable Gentleman, to take up time by a tedious harangue ; but his being clearly of opinion, that no part of the public money is misapplied, does not alter my opinion, that almost every part of it is. I regard not the opinions or the assertions of any man. The man is not yet born who is to frame my creed. [Here was a loud laugh.] I am naturally tenacious of giving credit. The honourable Gentleman says, he is sure a great proportion of the public money is laid out in the most proper manner ; if he means that part of it which is allotted to the payment of the forces, I deny that a single shilling is properly applied. We ought not to have any army at all. Our insular situation renders it totally unnecessary. Soldiers in an island (its militia excepted) is a contradiction in terms. I would allow his M——, and this only for parade sake, half a dozen light horse, to gallop before him to Kew or to Windsor ; but not another soldier would I have in the realm. Sailors are our natural defence ; on their valour we may safely depend ; but the military are only the tools of arbitrary power, and the badge of slavery ; mere mercenaries, who prey on the public, to whom they cannot render

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der one essential service. In case of a civil war soldiers might be necessary ; but heaven be praised, that is not likely to happen ; the present Sovereign sits enthroned in the hearts of his subjects. The parliament of Charles the Ist, found its use in the soldiery ; men then took up arms in behalf of freedom ; the blessing of heaven attended their endeavours, and they nobly assisted in bringing the tyrant to the block. I am sure there is a noble Duke * in the other house, who would thank me for this observation :—the descendant of a tyrant, he is the warmest friend of freedom, and has had the virtue to avow that he rejoiced in the *decollation*. He knows and feels that *Tyrannicides* is the proper appellation of those firm patriots, who, soon after the Restoration, were murdered under the name of *Regicides*. I would beg pardon for this digression ; but it may be sometimes proper to call back the attention of Gentlemen to those periods which hath blessed them even with the little of liberty they now enjoy. Gentlemen will say, that whatever may be the case in general, we have a present occasion for soldiers, to quell the insurgents, (I cannot call them by a harsher

* R—chm—d.

name)

name) in America. The Scottish phrase for these brave opposers of ministerial tyranny is Rebels, which may not be improper in the North, for they best know what rebellion means. They have rebelled more than once, without the slightest provocation, and the time does not seem to be far distant when [Here the Orator was called to order; but resuming his discourse, said] I aver, that there could be no necessity to have sent troops to America, because it could not be necessary that there should be any resistance. The Americans fought not war—they intreated, they petitioned, they remonstrated; but entreaty, petition, and remonstrance were equally vain. The Ministry, who had driven them into the war, whose savage inhumanity compelled them to arms, turned a deaf ear to their complaints, and spurned those whom they should have cherished: at length their patience was exhausted, they found that the hearts of the Ministry of this kingdom were “hard as the nether mill-stone.” Then did they take a resolution worthy themselves, worthy the imitation of future ages: then did they lay the corner-stone of that noble fabric, which, as it is the glory of the present, shall be the wonder

der of future times. The honourable Gentleman who spoke last, has told us that he is no enemy to the liberty of the press ; I hope not, for it has been a friend to him : hundreds of his jokes and bon-mots have I read, which would have never seen the light, nor ever been repeated beyond his own table, but for the humanity of the Printer of the Public Advertiser, who kindly took in the Cuds, licked them into shape, and sent them into the world in a better dress than their Master could bestow on them. The Gentleman has hinted that my speeches are printed verbatim. I avow, and boast of the fact. I have sent many speeches to the papers, and am of opinion that no Man ought to make a speech that he would blush to read ; or that would blush that all the World should read what he has spoken. I mention this as an answer to the honourable Gentleman's observation, that the publication of our speeches is prejudicial, by acquainting our Enemies with our proceedings. I believe not ; I am afraid our Enemies have other friends within certain walls than [Here Mr. W---s was called to order ; but being permitted to proceed, added] the Printers of the public papers, few of whom are
courageous

courageous enough to tell the whole truth, and some of them so pusillanimous as to disguise, and others so base as to falsify the fact. The Ministry have *their paper* too; a paper open to the insertion of every thing that ought not to be read; and if a proper degree of virtue and public spirit existed in this Country, it would be a paper no longer; for it would not find a single reader: yet so tenacious am I of the liberty of the Press, that I would not suppress even *this* publication, though I should be abused in it every day, and I know it to be conducted by a Parson, [an universal laugh.] I will not detain you longer, Sir, than while I give my hearty assent to the proposed amendment, which I think calculated to afford some light to those who have long “sat in darkness, and “in the shadow of death.”

Mr. Al—d—n T——d arose, chiefly to make one remark on a sentence that had fallen from the Gentleman who spoke last. He says he is naturally tenacious of giving credit: I wish he had been equally tenacious of *taking* it; it would have been much better, if not for himself, at least for those who were once his friends, on the supposition that he was a

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friend

friend to his Country ; but [Here Mr. T——d was called to order, and sat down, fcouling under the penthouse of his eyes, in his usual way when he is displeased ; though when matters take a turn agreeable to his wishes, few men have a more ingenuous countenance.]

Mr. W—l—e Ell—s objected to the amendment, as unnecessary, and not calculated to answer any one good purpose. He said that the laying papers before the house tended only to create confusion when real business should be dispatched, and observed, as he had done last year, that the Address was little else than an echo of the speech, and to be considered merely as a compliment to the S---v---r---n : there could therefore be no kind of harm in voting it as it usually had been voted, which indeed would infallibly be the case if they should wrangle till the morning. [This sort of reasoning, though it might be founded in fact, did not seem to have any weight with the Patriots, who thought it right to make one more struggle for the declining liberties of their country. The lead was taken by the]

Hon.

Hon. T. L——//, whose speech was nearly in the following words: The silence of Ministers on an occasion of this kind, shall be no pattern for me; they are always silent when they ought to speak, and generally speak when they ought to be silent. I take up the Idea of the honourable Gentleman who spoke the last save two. He tells us, and he tells us truly, that “Sailors are our natural defence; “on their valour we may safely depend.” This is a truth, Sir, that ought to be written in letters of gold. I was abused, traduced, calumniated, in a pamphlet published last year, entitled *Anticipation*, on account of my attachment to naval service, my veneration for the wonderful mechanism of a ship; but my attachment to the service is not abated, and, if possible, my veneration for the art of Ship-building is increased: the art of Navigation, indeed, has not been much improved or honoured of late. The sailing from port to port on our own coast, the taking care to keep out of danger, the slipping by the enemy in the night, and the timely coming to an anchor at Spithead or in Torbay, seem now to comprize almost the whole of the naval art.---Some exceptions, some glorious exceptions indeed,

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have arisen. A Farmer, a Pearson, a Piercy have taught us what English Commanders should be; and a Keppel would have carried our naval triumph to the highest pitch, if the enemy had possessed a spark of courage; or if there had been an utter impossibility of our Admiral receiving instructions from a certain board: [Order! order!] I am to order, Sir; but what I have said relates not to this house. There is a person whom the pamphlet I have alluded to calls *Noah*. I do not see much propriety in the comparison between him and the Noah of antient days: what similarity there is will be best seen by a reference to an antiquated volume called the Bible, from which I shall be the more free to quote, as I believe it is not much read but by a very few members of this assembly. The few among us who read Hebrew, may have seen in the Original what I shall, in imitation of an honourable Gentleman on this side of the house, “translate for the Country Gentlemen*.” I could have read what I wish to quote in that translation of the Bible now in use, but it was

* Here Col. B—rré knit his brows and looked fierce, for he also had been sneered at in the pamphlet of last year.

made in the reign of the Pedant James the first, and I hate every thing that has a reference to the house of Stuart. We are told, Sir, in the history I refer to, that “ the Sons
“ of God saw the Daughters of Men, that
“ they were fair; and they took them wives
“ of all which they chose.” That the Noah of this day has seen the beauty of the Daughters of men, and that he has taken to him such as he chose, no Man will deny; but we are told farther, that “ every imagination of
“ the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.” In this instance, perhaps, the comparison will hold good. “ But Noah found
“ grace in the eyes of the Lord!” Our modern Noah, I believe, finds no grace in any eyes but those of our f--v--r--n lord the K--g, and in those of a few buffoons and fiddlers. Noah was instructed in the art of Ship-building, in consequence of which he constructed the ark, which preserved him and his family from the violence of the flood. Hence, Sir, the origin of Ship-building, an art which I so greatly admire. But what has this to do with the character of our modern Noah? He knows nothing of the art of Ship-building, and is more ignorant of navigation than a West-country

country bargeman. "Noah begat three sons." I suppose our modern Noah has begotten three hundred:—but they are dispersed through the World, and, in the literal sense of the phrase, they are the *Filii Populi*. "The Lord said unto "Noah, come thou, and all thy house, into "the Ark." I have heard preachers in my time that have been wonderfully fond of allegories. These Gentlemen would have compared the ark to a certain royal hospital, which has received great part of what may be deemed the *household of Noah*, and I have heard that it is in contemplation for the Scotch surveyor and architect to build two additional wings, for the reception of all the voters of the county of Huntingdon. Noah was commanded to take into the ark, "of every clean beast by sevens, and of beasts that were not clean by "two, the male and his female." Has not the modern Noah reversed the obedience to this command, and given the preference to the *unclean* beasts? It would be as endless as fruitless to go on with quotations, and make the applications. In fact, the characters do not apply, and there was more of malice than of wit in the allusion, in the pamphlet I refer to. Noah's ark rested, in the seventh month,
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on the mountains of Ararat. Our ark, I fear, will not rest in twice seven years. Noah sent forth a raven and a dove. We have sent forth a raven, which has gone croaking through the world :—the dove we have idly thought to retain, till she has fled from us never to return. We cannot put forth our hands, and pull her into the ark. It is true that she has offered the olive-branch of peace, which we madly rejected ; and now has she taken her eternal residence on the other side the Atlantic. Peace be with her, and with those who hover under the shadow of her wings ! I was abused last year, Sir, for quoting the examples of the ancients as patterns for the moderns : I will not again transgress in that way, though I think we might have profited by the hints then given ; but I will speak to a few facts, which have fallen immediately within my own knowledge, or which I have received from the most indubitable authority. Sir, a contagious sickness is said to prevail among the fleet of the enemy ; an equal contagion prevails among our own ; and the reason of this is obvious : the same inactivity, the same pestilential air has infected both. The fleets were so long in contact, without coming to an engagement,

gagement, that is no wonder if the contagion should spread. Physicians and naturalists will tell us, Sir, that fire rarifies the air, and of consequence promotes health. In this case then a little gunpowder would have been useful; but this was reserved to make squibs and crackers for the boys of London and Westminster to throw about, to the terror and danger of the inhabitants, on some night of rejoicing for nothing done, on the publication of some extraordinary Gazette; extraordinary only, as it serves to publish the imbecillity of old England, and the treachery of her ministers.—The supplying our fleets with vegetables, Sir, has been no better attended to this year than it was the last. I say nothing to the potatoes, because I am convinced the season has been unfavourable to their vegetation, and because I do not wish for a reply from the honourable Gentleman* who last year boasted that he had treated an august personage with a sample of the very potatoes of which I then complained. Allowing this to be fact, and I will never doubt the assertion of any honourable Gentleman, what does it amount to? Are K—gs the most compleat judges of pota-

* Mr. P—nton.

toes, and is the r—l taste *never* perverted? Let any of the Ministry answer in the affirmative if they dare.—But still, Sir, the parsnips, the turnips, and the carrots, are as putrid, as tough, and as dry as they then were; nor are they supplied at the best hand; but purchased, as the four-croust for America was some years since, at ten times more than they are worth. A worthy friend of mine, a dealer in vegetables in Covent-Garden market, has assured me, that he could furnish government infinitely cheaper than the present price. Even in the articles of vegetables, Sir, the French have the advantage of us; for by late advices it appears, that they hang them on the outsides of their ships, which answers the double purpose of keeping them fresh, and of repelling the guns of the enemy in case of an engagement. This ought to furnish a hint for us—*Ab hoste doceri*. Let us too garnish the sides of our vessels with vegetables, or rather let us hang them in the rigging, (for it is at *that* the French fire) and defy the assault of the foe. I am aware, that the ship in which the young Prince sails, will not be ill supplied with the produce of the vegetable world; but, Sir, other people are to have their health con-

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sulted

sulted as well as princes ; and I cannot see any reason that a man of superior rank should be kept in health, while the honest tar is eaten up with the scurvy. But I decline saying any more on the subject, as our fleets have not lately kept long enough at sea to dread much from the attacks of that fatal disease.—Sir, I have nothing more to say, but that I shall give my vote for the amendment, as one probable means of bringing the Ministry, if not to a sense of their errors, (of which I despair) at least to the punishment due to their crimes.

Mr. P—nt—n said, That he did not often trouble the House, but must beg its indulgence for a few moments, not in reply to the honourable Gentleman who spoke last, (for it would be idle to think of replying to a man who had said a great deal about nothing) but in regard to the article of potatoes, of which he had really and *bona fide* had the honour to treat an illustrious personage, whose predilection in favour of potatoes was so well known, that from the time of a late royal demise to his marriage, these vegetables had furnished his constant supper ; a proof of that œconomy and
moderation

moderation which had distinguished his future life.

Mr. T. T—*ns*—*d* expressed himself in the following terms. I am astonished, Sir, that any honourable gentleman can talk of potatoes, when the weal of an empire is at stake. It is of little importance to us how we are fed, when the doubt is, whether we shall long feed at all. The situation, Sir, of this country, is deplorable beyond description. America, the great source of our riches, is for ever lost; the brightest jewel in the crown, is for ever displaced. Our West-India islands are some of them taken, and the rest in a fair way to be so. Jamaica, Sir, was captured from the Spaniards in the time of the Protector, Cromwell; it will probably revert to the Spaniards during the no *Protectorship* of the present Ministry—I hope not, Sir; I speak only my fears. St. Vincent's and Grenada were of some consequence; but no more of them:—*De mortuis nil nisi bonum*. They were once valuable. Jamaica, if I am rightly informed, produces more sugar and rum than all our other islands in the West-Indies. I am a friend to the importation of rum, as its consumption must

proportionably decrease that of French brandy. Our merchants are at this moment anxious for the fate of Jamaica, on which their own consequence may essentially depend. Our Ministers have been wrong in all their proceedings, from the outset to the present moment; and such is their imbecillity, such the contempt in which they are held by foreign powers, that we have not one ally on whose faith we can assuredly depend. The King of Prussia is doubtful at the least; and if he were inclined to assist us, he can do us no service in the naval line. The Empress of Russia may lend her aid when the frost shall have given her permission to put her vessels under way; and that may be four or five months after we have no occasion for their service. We have heard something said this day of the friendship of Denmark; but what is Denmark? She weighs nothing in the scale of Europe. We might as rationally hope assistance from Barbary and her corsairs. Sir, I must beg to call the attention of the House to other objects, and cannot but lament, that so many Gentlemen are gone to dinner, when such important matters are before us; as if eating was the great business of life. Sir, I am bold to aver, that we
have

have been wrong in all our proceedings, from the commencement of the accursed American war, to the present moment. The Ministers, with all their effrontery, dare not say that we have been right in a single instance. Nothing, Sir, can equal the obstinacy of the Ministers. They have been repeatedly told of their errors; but so far from reforming, they continue their career in its full vigour, adding error to error, and crime to crime. Would to God, Sir, their errors were compleated, the measure of their iniquities full, and that they were this instant to receive the reward which most assuredly awaits their crimes! It is “a consummation devoutly to be wished.” One Gentleman in office was to over-run America, and cut the throats of all the *Yankies* (as they are contemptuously called) with five thousand men; but experience has told us, that fifty thousand would be ineffectual to the purpose; and I will be bold to say, that America cannot be subjugated by any force we can send against her. Three millions of people fighting *pro aris & focis*, for every thing they hold dear and valuable, are not easily brought to bow the neck to the yoke of Ministerial tyranny. Ministers know this; Sir;

Sir; they know, though they will not acknowledge, that the spirit of Freedom is unconquerable. I wish they would read the history of Massaniello of Naples, and other pieces of the like kind, which would teach them what amazing effects may arise from public virtue animating even a single breast. What then will they say when the whole western World is in Arms, from motives the most pure and laudable, self-defence, and the general rights of mankind? I will not trespass on that time which I know to be precious; but I have a few questions to ask, though I have no expectation of a serious reply to them. Will Ministers be kind enough to tell us what is their plan? Have they any hope of reducing America to obedience, as they call it? Do they think that General Washington will command his troops to *pile their arms*? or do they think that such commands would be obeyed if they were issued? Can they conceive that our Soldiers will for ever fight and starve on five-pence a Day? Miserable Devils as they are, there is not one of them but could eat three meals a day—if he could get them: but I repeat what an honourable gentleman said before, respecting the Military. We have no occasion
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for Soldiers—they are a burden and a curse to this Country, and I much fear they will one day become an instrument in the hands of Ministers, to rivet those fetters they have long been forging for the free-born Englishman! I could say much more, Sir, but I fear it would be in vain: Ministers are grown callous; they heed not, or they despise, the complaints of the people. For the reasons I have assigned, and for a thousand others that I could assign, I give my hearty concurrence to the proposed amendment to the address to the throne.

Lord G---ge S---ckv---lle arose to make one remark on the phrase *Pile their Arms*. He considered it as an affront to himself, as if he had issued such orders as reduced General B——e to the necessity of piling his arms; on the contrary he had issued proper orders, such as he conceived the most likely to ensure success to the British arms. As to the rest of the honourable Gentleman's laboured harangue he should take no notice of it, as it was fit only to be heard, laughed at, and despised.

Colonel B---rré said he would give full credit to the noble Lord's assertion. There were no
Gentlemen

Gentlemen so happy in issuing proper orders, as those who were the very worst at obeying them. But, Sir, I do not rise for the sake of making a cursory remark; I rise to blame the whole conduct of Ministry, which, from their first entrance into office, hath been marked with error, absurdity and guilt. They have gone on from blunder to blunder, and from crime to crime, till so great a part of the empire is dismembered, and the rest in such imminent danger, that I fear the time is hastily approaching when the meetings of this assembly will be superfluous, for we shall have nothing left about which to debate. I told you last year that Spain would join France and America. Was I wrong in my prediction? She has joined them, and God only knows what will be the consequence. You, Sir, know, and Ministers know, that all my predictions have been fulfilled. But, Sir, matters are now in a much more deplorable way than they were last year: your copper-coloured allies, if they are allies at all, are of no use to their employers; even the wild Indians, the savages as we call them, are not savage enough to fight the battles of the present ministers; they blush through their bronze of copper, at the thought
of

Men,

Men in arms ready to support their claim. Can we spare fifty thousand to abide the contest? God forbid, Sir, that it should ever come to a contest; but something must be immediately done, or the consequence will be fatal. I will tell you one fact that comes within my immediate knowledge. The Irish are the most determined people in the world: they do not hastily resolve, but when once the resolution is formed, it becomes as irrevocable as the Laws of the Medes and Persians. I have a letter in my pocket, from a worthy friend in Crowstreet, who informs me that the rejoicings on the last anniversary of the birth of King William, were superior to any thing of the kind ever seen in Ireland. This, Sir, I will venture to pronounce the boldest threat ever given to the Ministers of this Country. Those who celebrate the birth of our great deliverer in songs of triumph, cannot but be determined enemies of a set of Men whose conduct sufficiently marks their dependence on an interest of a different nature. In one word, we must grant Ireland her wishes, or the consequences will be fatal to this Country.—Let me now call your attention to another object of no small importance, The Freeholders of Middlesex

Middlesex have been lately insulted in a way that threatens, if not timely checked, to sap the very vitals of this constitution. The Minister, Sir, has dared to refuse a vacating place to one Candidate, for the *express*, though not the *declared*, purpose of bringing in another. Lord N---h, Sir, has in effect dared to say, "I will be the sole Elector for the County of Middlesex: my voice shall determine who shall be the Man: the freeholders shall have no choice."---This, Sir, was an inroad on the constitution, a violation of the sacred rights of Englishmen, that no Prime Minister before the present ever dared to make. We know all Ministers to be Tyrants; but it remained for the *present*, to shew to what an extent Tyranny can be carried. What, however, has been the consequence of the noble Lord's procedure? It has drawn contempt, and I trust it will draw vengeance on his head. There is no punishment equal to his crime. It was an intentional robbery of the highest nature, and he is not so properly an accessory, as a principal, before the fact. The Freeholders of Middlesex, Sir, would have been robbed of their liberties, and through them the whole body of the Freeholders of this Country would have been defrauded of their dearest rights, but for the noble exertions

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of a few spirited Men; and the generous compliance of one venerable Patriot with the wishes of the people. The good old Man, with one foot in the grave, has his head amidst the Stars! He appears to have stepped forward, in the precise moment of time, to become the Saviour of this Country, or gloriously to fall amidst its ruins; for I am much mistaken if the period be not at length arrived when Ministry will be made to tremble and retire, or when Englishmen may sit down with folded arms, and in despair abide the fate that may await them. But, Sir, we will not give up the contest tamely: we will have yet one struggle more for Liberty, and if we *must perish*, we will *perish nobly*: we will expire with Freedom in our mouths and on our hearts, and her exit shall be marked with many a scar. If I am warm, Sir, is it any wonder? does not the cause require it? Sir, I do not *guess*, or *surmise*, or *believe*, but I *know*, that matters are come to a crisis; and let those who have *deserved*, take the consequence. I could read you many papers of consequence, Sir, but I am too well convinced that a deaf ear will be turned to my intelligence, however important; for the present, therefore, I shall content myself with giving

giving my hearty concurrence to the proposed amendment.

Mr. B—rke. I know, Sir, from vouchers too authentic, I know that the present administration is not held in more contempt than it ought to be; yet I must confess my admiration at the language of that Speech, which has given rise to the debate of this day; and shall this House echo such a Speech? Shall it say that every thing is right, which it knows to be wrong? I am sorry, Sir, that it should be again necessary to advert to the American war in this place; but this war, one of the first causes of our ruin, still pours its stream of distress with unabating rapidity, on this country; and we have nothing now to expect, but the shipwreck of the state. With France and Spain in the alliance of America, with the powers on the continent of Europe, hitherto deemed our firmest allies, refusing their assistance, what have we to hope? Cannot the Ministry at length tell us, that they are incapable of the task they have undertaken, and that they know not to steer the almost shipwrecked vessel into harbour? Cannot they resign the helm to more skilful and more honest pilots?

pilots? To less skilful and to less honest I am
 sure they cannot. There was a time, Sir,
 when they boasted in this House, not of what
 they had done, but of what they would do,
 in America. They were to over-run and re-
 duce the country with a handful of men.
 They have, indeed, over-run it, till their
 own men have been repeatedly reduced to a
 handful. No sooner have their arms received
 a check, which ought to make them blush at
 being thought the Ministers of this country,
 than they blazon their ill success in extraordi-
 nary Gazettes, which the bawling heralds of
 fame give to the public, who read and blush to
 think how *very extraordinary* they are! During
 the able presidency of a late Prime Minister, our
 successes were so rapid and so numerous, that
 there remained not time, if there had been in-
 clination, to amuse the public with ill digest-
 ed accounts of battles half won. We had
 then solid, short, well-digested accounts, not
 of what had been in contemplation, but of
 what had been actually performed. The
 writers were then the historians of their own
 actions, not the pretended heralds of ministerial
 fame. It would be as ungenerous as unjust,
 to attribute to our commanders by sea or land,
 the

the ill success that has attended their endeavours. They have done all, and indeed more than all, that they ought to have done, in obedience to the commands of such masters. The bravery of our troops, if it has not altogether equalled, it has left nothing to reproach it in the annals of antiquity. Neither the Grecians or Romans ever fought with more zeal and ardour in the public cause, than our Britons have fought in obedience to the commands of a set of Ministers—born indeed to command—to be obeyed—and despised.—America has been reflected on, in this House, and in the public prints, for demanding more than her due; and yet those very Ministers, whose agents were the reflectors, have offered abundantly more than she ever asked. The time is fast approaching, when they will offer still more; but even this will be rejected with contempt: and when two or three more years are past, those to whom we used to give laws will be dictators to us. I am not fond of predicting; but let Ministers remember what is now said; let them compare the prediction with the late conduct of America, high spirited and independent as it has been. Let them re-
flect

fleet how lately the American corsair * ravaged their coasts ; and let them recognize and blush at the absurdity of their own conduct, in claiming of the Dutch as a rebel, the neutral commander, (neutral to the Dutch at least) who had taken shelter in the bosom of the Texel. The Americans, Sir, are now at least on a par with ourselves ; and they will very soon be our superiors. Methinks I see real sovereignty sit enthroned under the shadow of her own vine in the western world ; I see her dispensing her own mild and equitable laws, and millions rejoicing in their happy effects ! I think I can see still farther into futurity—Spain will not be long the tyranness of South America. Her slaves will catch fire at the sacred flame of freedom, and the empire of liberty will be as extensive as the continent !

The evil Genius of this country, Sir, seems to have marked her for destruction ; she pursues her every footstep, nor will quit her till she is levelled with the dust ! It is painful to have the eye continually on scenes of distress ; but whither shall we turn it to obtain a more chearful view !

* Paul Jones.

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I would hope, that there is yet one possible way of saving this country from utter ruin :— Let the present state pilots resign that helm they are no longer capable of steering ; let it be entrusted to the hands of men more able and more honest. Though it be impossible to recover our former weight in the political scale, it may not be impossible to prevent its falling with such a force as to break the beam. With such an Administration as was formed by the late Lord Chatham, a few months would restore, in some measure, the declining credit of this country. Our fleets and armies withdrawn from America, and directed against their proper object, the scandalous and unnecessary war in which we are engaged must soon cease ; for I yet trust we have vigour remaining to crush the perfidious house of Bourbon.— I vote, Sir, for the amendment proposed, from a conviction that every thing ought to be done, to bring Ministers to the bar of the Public, to answer for their repeated and atrocious crimes.

Mr. F—x gave an eloquent proof of his political knowledge, and the care he took to be well informed respecting the interests of his

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country.

country. He mentioned his frequent predictions of the hasty ruin which was descending on this devoted land; predictions, indeed, which did himself no particular honour, because any other man might have equally seen the rapid strides we were making towards destruction. As he had so frequently reprobated the conduct of the American war, he would not lose time, by endeavouring to prove a fact universally seen by every man who was not wilfully blind:—he would only remark, that the original of the American war was a squabble for a parcel of damaged tea, and it could hardly fail to end in the loss of an empire! To the situation of affairs in Ireland he would not advert: the subject had been already mentioned by an honourable Gentleman, and its consequences would be felt by those who now turned a deaf ear to the complaints of their suffering fellow-subjects.—Of our ill success in the West-Indies I shall say nothing, it is too notorious not to strike the observation of every Gentleman. Count d'Estaing, the most contemptible of all foreign characters, has triumphed in the territories of Great-Britain!—Give me leave, Sir, to make a short observation or two on the situation of our affairs in the
Eastern

Eastern world. Our little success in that quarter has been trumpeted by all the heralds of fame, as if we had obtained possession of a new empire ! In the name of honesty and common-sense, what are our Eastern acquisitions ?—how have they been obtained ? Will not any man, less lost to feeling than a Leadenhall-street Nabob, blush to answer the question ? I know that great dependance is had on the East-India trade ; but I likewise know, that the French are undermining us, even in this article. But, Sir, I will not dwell on a subject that is a disgrace to our country. The making and unmaking Nabobs, for the purposes of acquiring money, is what a generous mind cannot bear to reflect on. It would be as endless as fruitless, to recount the peculations of the Eastern world. When the lust of wealth is to be gratified, its cravings are not appeased with slight oblations !

Our connections on the continent were never so little favourable as at the present moment. We cannot afford to pay any longer time those troops of mercenaries, who have hitherto drained our pockets to do us no kind of service. If Russia has not refused her assist-

ance in exprefs terms, her equivocation amounts almoft to a denial. Pruffia will lend us no kind of aid. How then are we to combat the combined force of the houfe of Bourbon? Whofe help are we now to ask?—There was a time, Sir, when this country poifed the fate of Europe; but thofe happy days are over, and we now kick the beam.

It is true, that the fpirit of adventure has gone forth, and our privateers have met with a reasonable degree of fuccefs; but what hath been done by our fleet? For any thing it has accomplished, might it not as well have remained in harbour to the prefent moment? Take a view of our fituation in any light, and we appear driving headlong to deftruction; yet let us not tamely fink under the weight, and give over all for loft, without one ftruggle for our expiring liberties. I will give my concurring voice for the propofed amendment, on the principle that induces the drowning man to catch at a ftraw.

Mr. S---b---ge faid a few words, very violent, and replete with that republican fpirit for which he is diftinguifhed. He moved for
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an impeachment of the minister, mentioned something of Tower-hill and Temple-bar, talked of the necessity of making an example, and quoted that text of Daniel which says "It is better that one Man should die, than that a whole nation should perish."

Mr. D--nn--ng would not enter into the merits of the question before the house, nor say how far he thought they were competent to its decision. He said he did not care what might be the particular drift of the question, but he was certain that it tended to the public good from the side of the house whence it had originated, as well as from that by which it had been, and would be, opposed:—he would therefore vote for the amendment without hesitation.

Mr. S--ll-c-t-r G-n-r-l took the opposite side of the question, as if from habit to oppose a brother lawyer, and from duty (to *himself*) to support the measures of administration. He defended the *American* War from the *principle* of crushing a host of *Rabels*. He said it was of ancient right, and warranted by long usage, which was equal to law, that the Ministers should

should retain in that House a number of Addressers to echoe what was delivered from the Throne. He did not deny, but that there had been some errors in the conduct of the war, but said, that if the matter were once brought to a legal issue, he had no doubt but that the house of Bourbon would *be cast*. He objected to the proposed amendment, as being founded in absurdity, and replete with error.

General C—n—y hesitated something like a half speech—he begged pardon—he doubted his own abilities—he hoped—he presumed—he wished, and he feared. He felt some warmth, but it appeared to be too little to animate himself or any one else. He thought that America was for ever lost; knew that some of our West-India islands were gone, and trembled for the fate of the rest. He doubted if even Scotland or Ireland were safe:—yet he hoped—and he trusted—that peace and harmony might be restored, and that zeal and unanimity would take place of languor and dissension.

The attention of the House was now called to the speech of Lord N—b, who said, that having listened attentively to what had been said

said by all the honourable Gentlemen who spoke before him, he hoped he should be as able, as he was ready, to give every satisfaction to the House.—Mr. Speaker, I concur in some particulars with several of the Gentlemen who have been Speakers in the debate of this day; but I cannot be of opinion, that the situation of this country is so deplorable as some of them have represented it. As I mean to speak at large on the subject, I shall take up the business from its commencement. It has been urged, that we have engaged in a war, unjust in itself, and ruinous in its consequences. I believe, Sir, it will be allowed, that all wars, from the beginning of the world to this day, have been commenced on the principle of necessity, or from what was thought necessity by the ruling powers, which is the same thing; for if our Governors are not to determine of the fit and the unfit, all government, all subordination, will be at an end,

It has been hinted, that the American war originated from a squabble about a quantity of damaged tea. Surely it can be of no consequence how, or on what account, it originated,
if

if the war be in itself justifiable. I believe there are few Gentlemen who will be hardy enough to deny, that the present inhabitants of America are the immediate descendants of those who emigrated from this country in the last century: these descendants then were, of course, subjects of, and bound to yield all true allegiance to, the parent country; I will not say to the King, or the Ministry, lest I should affront the Gentlemen of republican principles: but surely the Parliament ought to have had some controuling power over these people. It has been said without doors, that the Americans are in fact emancipated, because they are not represented: but this objection will vanish on the single consideration, that it was impossible, from their distance, that they could be represented otherwise than by men of congenial sentiments chosen in this country to sit in this House; and of those there are so many, that our Transatlantic friends do not, in fact, want representatives; indeed, I believe they are more faithfully represented than some of the cities and boroughs in this island.

By an estimate not long since made, it appears, that the “ summary of the military
“ charges,

“ charges, for the support, defence, and protection of the Colonies of North America” are immense. I have a short copy of these in my hand, which I will read:—

Forces employed for her defence	}	8,924,575 : 2 : 2½
Provincial military at New York	}	337,955 : 7 : 8
Provincial military at Georgia	}	130,064 : 8 : 4½
Provincial military in America	}	172,292 : 0 : 0

In all 9,565,594 : 18 : 3

Hence then it appears, that the military force for the defence, convenience, and protection of North America, has cost this nation from the year 1764 to 1775 inclusive (for it is for this period the calculation is made) no less than the enormous sum above specified:—and is this a country to be lost; is this a territory to be forever separated from the imperial domain of these realms? Surely the subjugating her is worth the struggle. Gentlemen who are most violent against the obedience of America, would think themselves insulted, if obedience should be refused by their own children or ser-

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vants;

vants; but we are apt to forget, in general cases, what strikes us most forcibly in particular.

Much has been said against the propriety of continuing the American war. For my own part, I sincerely wish the war had not commenced; or that, having commenced, it had long since ended: but, Sir, the dignity of government must be supported; and those who will not yield, must be taught submission. It is not for the K—g's servants to give up a cause, in which the honour of the nation is concerned. I am confident, that the majority of the inhabitants of the revolted colonies wish for a reconciliation with the mother country; and the Gentlemen in opposition will agree with me when I say, that Government equally wishes for a reconciliation with the mother country. It has been said, that advances have been made on the part of America; that she has petitioned, and that her petitions have been rejected. All this is acknowledged; but it must be likewise confessed that America has been the aggressor. I will not take up any farther time, Sir, than to say that every exertion has been made

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made to give force to the operations of Government. Our Generals, our Admirals have discharged their duty in its fullest extent, and it remains only in the hand of providence to determine on the justice of the cause. For my own part, Sir, I shall be happy to resign my envied, but not enviable situation, whenever a more faithful servant of the Crown can be found; but till that period shall arrive, I will hope for the countenance and support of every gentleman who wishes to maintain the dignity of Government.

This speech being concluded, the question was called for with the utmost violence.

At two in the morning the question on the amendment was put, and the motion rejected, 249 to 137. Mr. B—g and Mr. T. T—n—d were Tellers for the Ayes, and Mr. Charles T——d and Sir G—y C——r for the Noes. The main question being then put, was carried without any material difference in the numbers.

A motion was now made to adjourn, and the house growing vociferous, the adjournment took place accordingly, in the usual manner, till nine o'clock the next morning.

T H E E N D.

DECLARATION

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